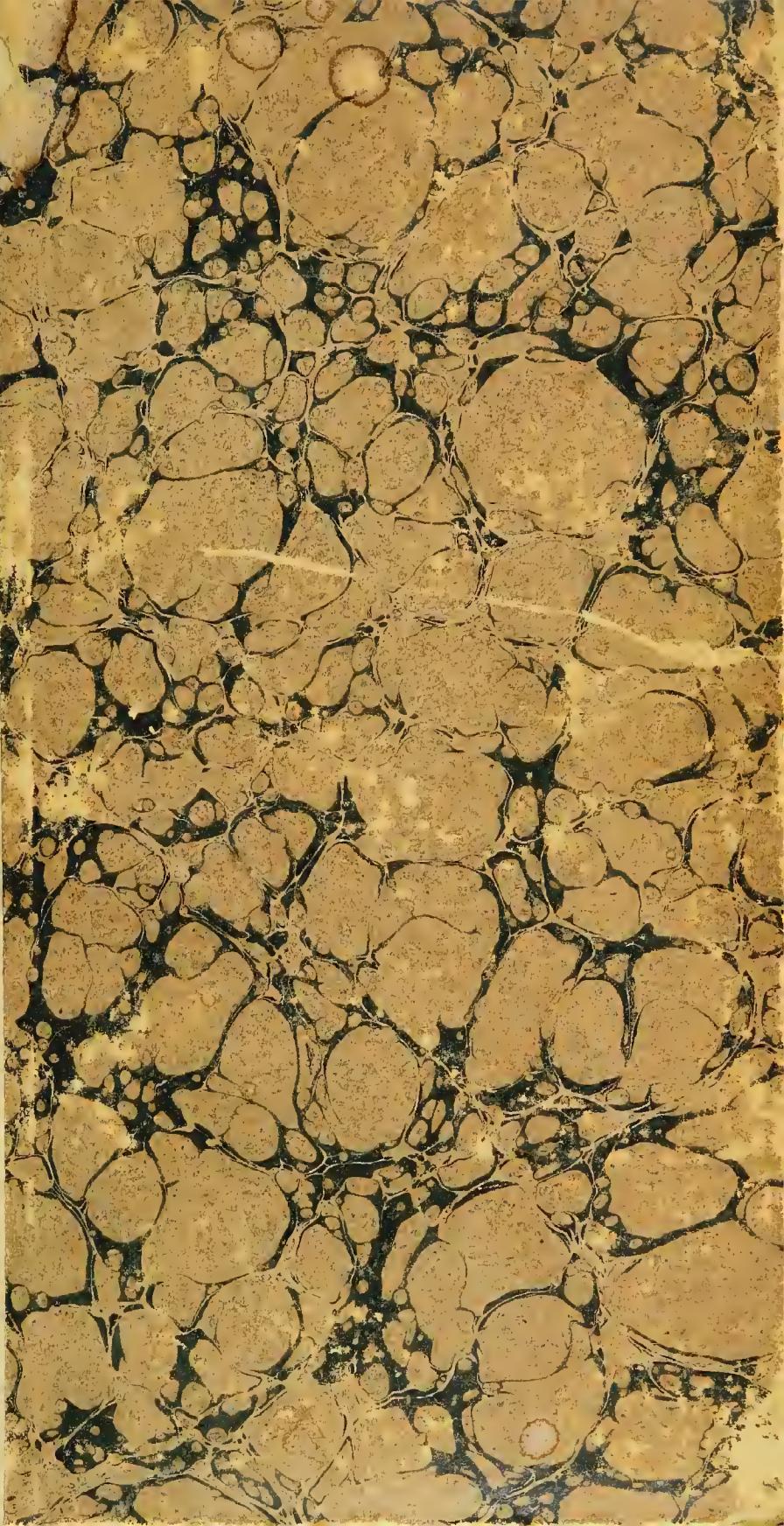


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❖ SAYENQUERAGHTA, ❖

KING OF THE SENECA'S.

BY GEO. S. CONOVER,

(HY-WE-SAUS.)

GENEVA, ONTARIO COUNTY, N. Y.



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SAYENQUERAGHTA, KING OF THE SENECAS.

GEO. S. CONOVER, GENEVA, N. Y.

This paper is the result of a patient investigation and research made during the past 6 or 8 years, and the materials have been gathered together and the matter written up for the Cayuga Historical Society, at the special request of its President, Rev. Charles Hawley, D. D., Auburn, N. Y.

The name SAYENQUERAGHTA appears to be of the Mohawk dialect. Inasmuch, however, as it has been commonly used in the New York Colonial Documents as the name of a distinguished and noted Seneca Indian, the subject of this paper, it has been adopted, in the present instance, as the proper appellation. Although several variations in spelling of the name are to be found, the orthography adopted is the signature to the preliminary articles of peace made with Sir William Johnson in 1764. SAYENQUERAGHTA has, however, been more commonly known to the white people as OLD KING, or OLD SMOKE, and in order to maintain his identity, he will of necessity be frequently thus designated in this paper. Sometimes, also, he has been designated as the KING OF KANADESAGA,

The name SAYENQUERAGHTA in the Seneca language appears to be Ga yah-gwaah-doh, and it is thus spelled by the Hon. O. H. Marshall and other late investigators. It has, however, been written a little differently by other good authority; Rev. Asher Wright, who spent many years of his life as a missionary to the Senecas on the Cattaraugus Reservation, writing it Gui-yah gwaah-doh.* and the Seneca chief N. T. Strong, an educated Indian of much knowledge and ability writing it Gui ya gua .doh.†

The same name is now held by a venerable and prominent Mohawk Chief, yet living on the Reservation in Canada, whose name is John S. Johnson, but who is commonly known as Smoke Johnson. His Indian name in the Mohawk dialect as written by himself, (a prominent investigator ‡ says) is SAKAYENKWARATON, the final syllable having the nasal sound of the French word *ton* and is frequently written *toh*, or *ta*. This same gentleman says that a few years ago the old Chief pronounced his Indian name for him and that he wrote it down SOI-EN GA-RAH TA, and could make nothing else of it.

Horatio Hale in his "Iroquois Book of Rites," page 39, gives the name as SAKAYENGWARATON. In a private letter written since the publication of his book says: "The old Chief himself spells his Indian name, I find, SAKAYENWARAGHTON. In my book the guttural aspirate *gh* is omitted, as the person from whom I first heard the name did not happen to sound it distinctly. The Secretary of the Council, who is an educated Indian, spells the name, SAKAYENGWARATONH."

* Ketchum's Buffalo and the Senecas. Vol. I. p. 327.

† Publications of Buffalo Historical Society. Vol. I. p. 40.

‡ Wm C. Bryant, Esq. Buffalo, N. Y.

|| Published by D. G. Brinton, M. D. Philadelphia, 1883.

The spelling and pronunciation of this name would vary in the different dialects of the several tribes of the Iroquois, and as the white people had no other authority for the names or places in the Indian country than that heard from the mouth of the Indian, such names would be written down as best they could be from the pronunciation thus given. The fancies of the different writers in the use of letters and words to express the sounds heard would also vary a good deal. Hence, the name of SAYENQUERAGHTA is found variously written as Guyangualhta, Giengwah-toh, Koyingquauteh, Siongoroichti, Cay-enquaraghta, Sayenquaraha, Sakayeng-waughton, and in other ways, as will hereafter appear in the passages that may be quoted, the name being written just as it is found.

The first mention of the name (that the writer of this has been able to find) is in N. Y. Col. Doc. Vol. IV. page 729, where is to be found an account of a conference of the Earl of Bellomont with a large delegation of Indians, held at Albany August 27th, 1700. The name of HAJENQUERAH-TON appears at the head of the list of the 'Sinnakees.' He, however, could not have been the subject of this paper, for, although he was a very aged man when he died, he could not have been old enough to have become a warrior at that time, even if he was then born, let alone a chief.

The first probable mention we have is in the journal of Cammerhoff and Zeisberger of their journey to this country in 1750. These Moravian brethren, on their return from a visit to the large western village of the Senecas, while resting in the shade of a hut at Canandaigua, were told by a friendly Indian that there was a chief living at Ganechsatage by the name of GAJINQUECHTO and that his house was large and that we could put up there."

On the afternoon of the next day they arrived at Ganechsatage* and repaired to the house of the chief GAJINQUECHTO. He and his wife were not at home, but came up after we had been there a short time and received us very kindly, at once offering us venison. We made inquiry concerning the route we were to take. The sachem's wife went with us and pointed it out and so we journeyed on, passing old Ganechsatage.†

There may be a question as to whether the 'sachem' GAJINQUECHTO is really Old King, but to the writer there seems to be no doubt as to the identity.

The further record that is to be found in relation to SAYENQUERAGHTA is as follows:

He is mentioned in 1751: 'A son of CAYENQUARAGHTA, a Sineker chief, was killed in the late war with the English.' Pa. Col. Rec. V. 542.

In July 1754, at the treaty of Philadelphia, the name of SAKAYENQUARAGHTA follows immediately after TAGECHHSADU, whose name on the deed is Takeghsatu, but the first name mentioned above is not on the deed. Pa. Col. Rec. VI. 128.

At the great treaty at Easton in 1758, KAYENQUARAGHTON is called a Seneca war captain and the name of SAGECHHSADON appears as chief man of all the Senecas. Pa. Archives III. 558

Up to this period of time, TAGCHHSADON appears to have been the chief of leading influence among the eastern Senecas. He is mentioned (N. Y. Col. Doc. VII. 254.) as being one of the Seneca sachems from the Old Castle present at a meeting at Fort Johnson, June 10, 1757, and under the different variations in which his name is written, he is mentioned as being the 'chief man of the Senecas,' or 'principal chief.' His name ceases to appear after 1758, although his decease probably did not occur until 1764, as in September of that year, Sir William Johnson, in an official letter says: 'Having this moment heard of the death of the chief of all the Senecas, who was for some years past attached to our interests.' Buffalo and the Senecas. I. 155.

SAYENQUERAGHTA had at this time become the leading chief, and it is apparent that he was the successor of TAGECHHSADU, and obtained the most influence and wielding the greatest power.

In April 1764, as one of the deputies of the Seneca nation, SAYENQUERAGHTA signed preliminary articles of peace at Johnson Hall, his signature being the first one to the treaty, thus evidencing that he was the chief or leading sachem, N. Y. Col. Doc. VII. 623.

In January, 1765, Samuel Kirkland, under the protection of Sir William Johnson, went to the Senecas. Upon his arrival at Kanadesaga, in the month of February, he was taken to the house of the 'chief sachem,' who received him kindly. The next day a council was convened and the message of Sir William Johnson having been delivered, 'the head

* On Slate Rock or Burrell Creek, some five miles southwest of Geneva.

† At the White Spring, one and a half miles southwest of Geneva.

sachem SAKAYENGWALAGHTON, made a very handsome and animated reply.' Some days afterwards 'the head sachem' took Mr. Kirkland to the council-house where a speaker announced that the 'head sachem' adopted him into his family as his son. After a few days, 'his newly adopted father, SAKAYENQWALAGHTON,' took him into a smaller council, and he was there notified of the arrangements that had been made for his residence. During his entire residence of more than a year at Kanadesaga, he continued under the protection of the 'head sachem' who in later days was known as Old King, and Kirkland uniformly designates as the chief or head sachem, by whom he had been adopted as a son, who treated him as such, always exhibiting towards him an affectionate consideration.

SAYENQUARAGHTA appears again at Johnson Hall at a conference, July, 1771, (N. Y. Col. Doc. VIII. 282,) and at a congress with some of the principal chiefs and warriors of the six nations at Johnson Hall, on the 18th of April 1774 a single Indian being named as the chief of each nation. SAYENQUARAGHTA is named as the chief of the Senecas, and he made a lengthy speech to Sir William Johnson on that and the succeeding day (N. Y. Col. Doc. VIII. 424 8), and on the 22d, again made an address to Sir William. (VIII. 429).

On the 13th of July, 1774, Sir William Johnson was buried and on the next day ceremonies of condolence were held by the Indians with Col. Guy Johnson, after which a few short speeches were made on business matters, on the afternoon of the 15th. Col. Guy Johnson had a private conference with SAYENQUARAGHTA and some other principal men to whom he pointed out the danger to which the Ohio Senecas would be exposed unless the present disturbances were accommodated.' N. Y. Col. Doc. VIII. 484.

The name of SAYENQUERAGHTA again appears at a meeting of the chiefs and warriors of the six nations held at Johnstown in September, 1774, (N. Y. Col. Doc. VII. 496) and at a congress held the same month, in consequence of the appointment of Guy Johnson as the successor of his father in law, Sir William Johnson to the British agency of Indian affairs a number of chiefs were formally presented to him, the third on the list being SAYENQUERAGHTA, the speaker saying: 'These are all great men who rule us, they are of one mind, resolved to remember Sir William Johnson's words

and follow your advice. They are men to be trusted. This, brother, is our old custom, which has always been used, to acquaint those who get the management of Indians with the names and characters of our great men. This we did on former occasions. We did it with Sir William, and now we do it with you. We are at the same time sensible that you know them all, and we hope that you will regard them as they mean to do you.' (N. Y. Col. Doc. VIII. 506)

On the 2d of March, 1775, 'Col Guy Johnson delivered out some presents to the principal men, particularly to SAYENQUARAGHTA, the faithful chief of all the Lower Senecas, and his family,' (N. Y. Col. Doc. VIII. 559), and on the 25th of August 1775, an ancient belt of wampum is alluded to in connection with "KAYINGUARAGHTOH," of the Seneca nation, (VIII. 612), the belt being produced on the 2nd of Sept. and mentioned as the one given by "KAYINGUARAGHTOH, in behalf of the six nations," VIII. 628.

Mrs. Colonel Samuel Campbell one of the prisoners taken at the Cherry Valley massacre in November, 1778, was in captivity at Kanadesaga during the winter. An exchange of prisoners having been agreed upon, through the intervention of Colonel John Butler, she was released from her captivity among the Indians in the spring of 1779. The following in relation to the matter is taken from the "Annals of Tryon county," page 179.

"The residence of Mrs. C. was intended to have been only temporary at Canadasago. This spring she was to have been placed in a family in the Genesee village, who were kinsfolks of the family with whom she lived at this time, and also of GUYANGUAHTO, or as he was usually called GRAHTA, the Seneca King. It was necessary to obtain their assent, and the Old King himself set out on this errand. Having succeeded he returned to Canadasago, and immediately informed Mrs. C. that she was now free. The good old King had always been kind to her. Though considerably advanced in life, so that he did not join in the war, yet he performed this journey on foot. Before her departure for Niagara, he came up from his residence near the outlet of the Seneca lake, to bid her adieu, and to wish her success on her journey. 'You are now about to return to your home and friends. I rejoice. You live a great way, many days journey from here. I am an old man, and do not know that I shall live

to the end of the war. If I do, when the war is over, I will come and see you.' This was spoken through an interpreter."

On the 3rd of July, 1778, only a few months before the massacre at Cherry Valley, the battle of Wyoming took place, the valley having been invaded by a force of British soldiers and tories under the command of Col. John Butler accompanied by large bands of Indians. The atrocities that were committed have been ascribed to the savage cruelty of the celebrated Mohawk Chief Joseph Brant, who, it has been asserted, commanded the Indians in their merciless foray. It has, however, been satisfactorily ascertained that Brant was not there at the time and in endeavoring to clear up the accusation against him the odium has been cast upon Old King.

In a note at the bottom of page 342, Vol 1, 4th edition of Stone's "Life of Brant," it is stated that "The Indians engaged were chiefly Seneca. Their leader was a Chief named GIEN GWAH-TOH who was succeeded by Young King."

In volume I, page 364, Publications of Buffalo Historical Society, is an account of the interview between Col. Stone, Orlando Allen and the Seneca Chief, Captain Pollard, and which was narrated by Mr. Allen at a meeting of the club of the Historical society. He states that he took Col. Stone to the residence of Pollard on the Reservation, and says: "We found the chief confined to his bed by an attack of rheumatism. I introduced Colonel Stone to him, and told him the object of our visit; to vindicate, if possible, the memory of the dead, and settle a vexed question in history. Captain Pollard maintained a thoughtful silence for a few moments, and then said to me in the Seneca tongue: 'I was at Wyoming, and probably know as much about that affair as any living man. You know that I was once a pagan warrior, but that I have since become a Christian, and look up in the scenes of my younger days with abhorrence and regret. I dislike to dwell in thought upon this subject, much more in words. But as it is a duty to vindicate the dead I will conquer my reluctance and tell you what I know. There were two war parties at Wyoming. One was composed of Senecas led by a chief now living and whom you know. The other was composed of Oneondagas, led by a man now living on that reservation, and whom you also know,—he is a very aged man. Besides there were a few Mohawks, but not enough to form a distinct band, and they

joined our party, the Senecas, (for they were our neighbors then,) encamped at Lewiston, on the Niagara, Captain Brant was not there. I know the fact. He was at Niagara at the time."

"Mr. O. H. Marshall.—'Who did Captain Pollard say led the Senecas at Wyoming?' Mr. Allen.—'It was Old King, as I remember.'"

In response to an inquiry, Mr. Marshall replied Dec. 15th 1879, "on page 365 of the 1st. vol., of the collections of the Buffalo Historical Society, just published, I find the interview to which you allude, between the Hon. Orlando Allen and Capt. Pollard; the leader of the Senecas at the massacre of Wyoming could not have been 'Old King,' because he was not then living and could not have been known by Mr. Allen, for he was mentioned in Sawyer's Journal, page 129, as being dead in 1794. He was too old a man in 1778 to have been leader of the Senecas. Pollard's authority, as given in the interview with Orlando Allen is against it, for he says, 'the Senecas were led by a person known to Mr. Allen.' The latter must have been mistaken in his answer to my inquiry if he said Old King."

The conversation, as before related, was first published in Lossing's American Historical Record, Volume I, page 116. There the answer to Mr. Marshall's query is, "It was Young King, as I remember." This puts another phase upon the matter, although it does not at all settle the question as to who was the leader of the Senecas at Wyoming. In relation to this, Wm. C. Bryant, Esq., of Buffalo, N. Y., has kindly furnished the writer of this with the following: "It is claimed that Young King was too young to be the leader of a war party. I fear it will never be known who that leader was." (See late Rev. Mr. Wright once told me that he had made inquiries of aged Indians who informed him that Col. Shongo was that leader, but I doubt its reality and Mr. Wright did not attach much importance to it. Young King was certainly a very prominent chief in 1791; I think he was a much older man than he has been represented to be. (See narrative of Col. Thomas Proctor. Appendix to Buffalo and the Senecas.) I am positively certain that Mr. Allen gave the name of Young King. Warriors often took the war path at an early age—striplings in fact. Young King was a man of gigantic stature, and herculean mould. The prestige of his rank and descent, united with his magnificent physique and dauntless courage would

overbalance all considerations growing out of his youth."

There may be an objection to the above conclusion in that Young King could have no such prestige as is claimed, inasmuch as in the spring of 1780, the lad Benjamin Gilbert had been adopted into the family of Old King in such a manner as to become his successor; it seems evident that this adoption was intended to secure and retain the prominence and influence which, at that time the Montour's possessed; as the wife of Captain Roland Montour was the daughter of Old King and her mother was a Cayuga, such power and influence could be retained in the succession in no other way. To this may be added the fact that a few years after the release of the Gilbert lad from captivity, another Indian had been selected as the successor of Old King, but in consequence of his being killed in the spring or early summer of 1790, another choice had to be made and it was not until then that Young King secured the succession.

The conversation between Mr. Allen and Capt. Pollard, it will be recollect, was carried on in the Seneca language, and the name given by the Seneca chief as the leader of the Senecas at Wyoming, according to Col. Stone, who was present at the interview was GI-EN-GUAH-TOH which is really one of the variations of Old King's Indian name, as it was also of his successor, Young King.

The matter in relation to Old King is discussed by Mr. Ketchum in his "Buffalo and the Senecas," published in 1864, page 327, 8, and he is decidedly of the opinion that there was some error in regard to the name if it was intended to be applied to Old King. Mrs. Campbell, a prisoner at Kanadesaga, has already been narrated, in the spring of 1779, some 8 or 9 months after the Wyoming massacre, says that "he was considerably advanced in life so that he did not join in the war." From this testimony and others of like strong character, Mr. Ketchum says "it is impossible that he should have been the leader at Wyoming in 1778." A conclusion which is irresistible and which must be arrived at by every thorough investigator.

The Indians generally acknowledge that "Governor Blacksnake" was quite prominent and one of the leaders on that occasion. Dr. Morgan says that the Iroquois had two supreme military chieftains, whose duty it was "rather to take the general supervision of the affairs of war than the actual command in the

field, although they were not debarred from assuming it if they were disposed to do so." These offices were hereditary and were assigned to the Senecas. The first was named TA-WAN'-NE ARS, and was hereditary in the Wolf clan; the second was SO-NO-SO-WA, and belonged to the Turtle clan.* The first of these positions was held by Governor Blacksnake and as he was yet living at the time of the interview between Mr. Allen and Capt. Pollard, some have concluded that he was the person Pollard intended to allude to. Governor Blacksnake died at Cold Springs, Allegany Reservation, December 26th, 1859, aged over 100 years. Dr. Wilson writes his name or title, THA-O WA NYATHS, and believed him to be 120 or 130 years old.

In the spring of 1780 the Gilbert family, residing near present Weissport, Carbon County, Pa., were taken prisoners by a roving band of Indians commanded by Captain Roland Montour, his brother John being second in command. From the "Narrative of the Captivity and Sufferings of Benjamin Gilbert and his Family." London reprint of 1st edition, 1790, the following information and extracts are taken:

As the Indians approached their homes near Niagara, with their prisoners, Captain Roland Montour's wife came to the company. "She was the daughter of SIANGOROCHTI, king of the Senecas, but her mother being a Cayuga she was ranked among that nation." Rebecca Gilbert, aged about 16 was at this time given by the captain to his wife as her daughter, "whereupon she took a silver ring off her finger and put it on Rebecca's (page 28.) When the prisoners reached the settlement, the adult males were obliged to run the gantlet, and while they were being most unmercifully beaten "the king came and put a stop to any further cruelty by telling them 'It was sufficient,' which they 'immediately attended to,' (page 30.) Rebecca Gilbert and Benjamin Gilbert, junior, were separated from their friends and connections at a place called the Five Mile Meadows, which was said to be that distance from Niagara. The Seneca King's daughter to whom they were allotted in the distribution of the captives took them to a small hut where her father SIANGOROCHTI, his queen and the rest of the family were, eleven in number. Upon the reception of the prisoners into the family there was much sorrow and weeping." (page 77.)

'This was the rite of their adoption, and was of such a character and nature that Benjamin, a lad of about 11 years of age, "was considered as the king's successor, and entirely freed from restraint, so that he soon began to be delighted with his manner of life," (page 80) and "as a badge of his dignity; wore a silver medal pendant from his neck." (p. 81.)

The time that these two captives separated from the rest, was on or about the 24th of May, 1780, as on that day the father, mother and Jesse Gilbert were taken to Fort Niagara, and on the 25th were surrendered to Col. Johnson. (p. 32, 3.)*

In continuing the narrative of Rebecca and Benjamin, who had been adopted into the family of Old King, at the Five Mile Meadows, we find that "After three days the family removed to a place called the Landing, on the banks of Niagara river: here they continued two days more," and then the captives were taken to Fort Niagara "to procure clothing from the king's stores" and were permitted to ride on horseback to Fort Schlosser about eighteen miles distant from Fort Niagara and here they stayed six days.† page 78. "From Niagara Fort † they went about eighteen miles above the Falls to Fort Erie, a garrison of the English and there continued their journey about four miles further up Buffalo creek and pitched their tent. At this place they met with Rebecca's father and mother, by adoption, who had gone before on horse back. p. 78. "This spot was intended for their plantation, they therefore began to clear the land for their crop of Indian corn. While the women were thus employed, the men built a log house for their residence, and then went out hunting. (p. 79)

It has been deemed necessary to be thus explicit in relation to the movements of Old King's family, inasmuch as it has been stated that they did not remove to Buffalo Creek until the spring of 1781 instead of in June 1780, as is shown in the foregoing. In addition, it may be stated that on page 36 we learn that the mother, Elizabeth Gilbert, about the 1st. of June, 1780, saw and conversed with Elizabeth Peart, another of the captives, and also that "the Indian woman who had adopted Rebecca as her daughter, came also to the fort, and Elizabeth Gilbert made use of the opportunity to inquire concerning her daughter." Although it would seem that Rebecca did not see her mother, yet while she was detained in the neighborhood of Fort Niag-

ara, she had an opportunity of seeing and conversing with Elizabeth Peart, although the Indians would not allow them to be frequently together. [page 78.]

It having been stated that Old King's residence was probably at Nunda in the spring and summer of 1780, although what has been written shows to the contrary, a careful examination of the Gilbert narrative shows that the Nunda King spoken of is some other Chief. Joseph Gilbert was taken to Nunda and resided for several weeks in the king's family, 'whose hamlet was superior to the other small huts.' He was treated very kindly by the king who intended his adoption 'in the place of one of his sons, who was slain when General Sullivan drove them from their habitations.' He was finally adopted 'into the family of one of the king's son's and their residence was at Caracadera [about seven miles from Nunda, p. 46.]

Thomas Peart was adopted into a family in place of an old man who 'had never been considered by his family as possessed of any merit,' [p. 96] and was taken by the family to Nunda. 'The head of this family was a chief or king of the Senecas.' [p. 97.] 'Some time in the fall, the king (whose brother Thomas was called,) died, and he was directed to hew boards, and make a coffin for him; when it was completed they smeared it with red paint' [p. 106.]

As this last mentioned king died in the fall of 1780, he could not have been Old King. If, however, the first mentioned is another person, it is a sufficient answer

* See also 3rd edition of Gilbert narrative p. 64.

† 3rd edition, Gilbert Narrative, p. 141.

‡ 3rd edition, p. 143, more correctly says, "Fort Slush'r," (Schlosser.)

|| Caneadea, probably. John Huston, or Hudson who accompanied Roland Montour in the capture of the Gilbert family in 1780, was king or head chief of Caneadea. He had a brother Thomas who was apparently the husband of Catharine Montour. W. C. Bryant Eq., has kindly furnished the following extract from his notes, taken in short hand, of a conversation with the late Seneca Chief Thomas Jemison or "Buffalo Tom" who knew Hudson well.

"John Hudson, great chief he was; lived close by. He and Col. Shongo, great chiefs. John Hudson lived at Caneadea when I was there. Afterwards he lived at Wiskoy. He had two daughters and three boys; all dead. Hudson good looking fellow he was; orator great chief. He dressed altogether Indian fashion, wore feathers on his head. Shongo wore Indian dress and feathers. Remember Hudson used to talk in Council good deal. Good speaker and fine looking man. Slow and dignified; large straight man; would weigh 170 pounds I should think."

Jemison was a very intelligent and a gullible man. He died a few years ago nearly 90 years of age.

to say that Jo epl. Gilbert made his escape from captivity while yet residing at Nunda in the summer of 1781. In his flight, after journeying two days and nights, he reached Fort Niagara and received the protection of Col. Johnson. 'After a few days' stay, he embarked on a vessel for Montreal, with such of the others as had obtained their freedom, [p. 51.] and this vessel sailed about the middle of August. [p. 57.] This king's residence, therefore, continued at Nunda until August 1781 and, consequently could not have been Old King.

The son of the king mentioned as having been killed in the Sullivan expedition, may have been the one spoken of as the King of KANADESAGA that was reported to Gen. Sullivan as having been killed.

Before leaving the Gilbert narrative, a little more information in relation to Old King can be gleaned. 'Notwithstanding the family they lived with was of the first rank among the Indians and the head of it styled a king, they were under the necessity of laboring, as well as those of lower rank, although they often had advantages of procuring more provisions than the rest. This family raised this summer about one hundred skipples of Indian corn (a skipple being about equal to three pecks) equal to seventy-five bushels.' [p. 79.] 'They drew provisions this summer from the forts, which frequently induced the Indians to repair thither. The king, his daughter, granddaughter and Rebecca, went together upon one of these visits to Fort Erie, where the British officers entertained them with a rich feast, and so great a profusion of wine that the Indian king was very drunk, and as he had to manage the canoe in their return, they were repeatedly in danger of being overset amongst the rocks in the lake.' [p. 80.]

On another occasion 'the king, queen and another of the family, together with Rebecca and her cousin Benjamin, set out for Niagara.' 'Hence accomplished the object of their journey they set out on their return home.' As they had procured some rum to carry home with them the chief was frequently intoxicated, and always in such unhappy fits, behaved remarkably foolish.' [p. 81.]

In the spring of 1784, Peter Ryckman was employed to go to Niagara with a message to the Indians inviting them to a council. In the instructions from Governor George Clinton, April 12, 1784, is the following: 'CAYENQUERACHTA, the Seneca Sachem, must have particular attention

paid to him, and you must privately promise him that you will recommend him to the notice of the Commissioners.' Hough's Indian Treaties, [p. 12.]

SAYENQUERAGHTA, or as he has more commonly been called OLD KING or OLD SMOKE, was of the Tortoise or Turtle clan, and was the head chief or sachem of the Turtle village of the Senecas, the *grand village* and the prominent head of the eastern Senecas, call'd Ga-nun-da-sa ga. or as it is now more commonly known as the Old Castle or Kanadesaga [with more than eighty different variations of spelling], situated in the town of Geneva, N. Y. nearly two miles north-westerly from the foot of Seneca lake.*

In N. Y. Col. Doc. VII, at page 621, is printed the 'Preliminary Articles of Peace with the Seneca Indians,' April 3, 1764. At the end of the document, it is stated that the 'marks of their tribes' were affixed opposite the signatures of the Indians. As there was only L. S. in the printed copy at the place indicated, application was made to Berthold Fernow, Esq., clerk in charge of the ancient historical records and colonial mss. in the office of the secretary of state † to examine the original copy procured by Mr. Brodhead, and if the tribal marks were there to furnish a tracing of them. The matter sought for not being found, Mr. Fernow very kindly sent a request to a clerk in the 'Public Record Office' in London, and on the 7th of December, 1881, a response was made inclosing the desired tracing. The following is extracted from the letter:

'Plantations General R. No. 86 containing amongst its enclosures a paper entitled 'Preliminary Articles with the Sen-

* After the destruction of the place by Sullivan's army in 1779, no permanent settlement was ever attempted. In the course of 3 or 4 years, pioneer explorers and traders penetrated the country and a transient gathering was made on the shore of Seneca lake, 'under the hill,' south of lower end of the present Seneca street. Huts and cabins were here built from time to time and this place finally became the headquarters of the 'Lessee Company' in their negotiations with the Senecas. Hence, some of the early maps and surveys have this locality noted on them as Kanadesaga. The manuscript survey and map of John L. Hardenbergh, now in possession of the Cayuga County Historical Society, made in 1789 or '90, has, on the map, Kanadesaga located on the lake shore apparently about where the Franklin House now stands. The former site of Kanadesaga at this time and afterwards was universally called the Old Castle, the name Kanadesaga being adopted for the other locality.

† By an act of the Legislature these documents have been transferred to the state Library, forming a separate department, Mr. Fernow remaining the clerk in charge.

Fac-Simile of the Signatures to the Preliminary Articles of Peace.

N. Y. Col. Doc. VII. 621-3.

Given under my Hand at Johnson Hall, the third
Day of April 1764 in

Agagaanadie   Agagaanadie
Haaniges   Haaniges
Chonedagau   Chonedagau
Aughnawauis   Aughnawauis
Tayenguengha   Tayenguengha
Manughisac   Manughisac
Tayaganoodie   Tayaganoodie
Taany aqua   Taany aqua
Wm Johnson 

eca Indians, April 3, 1764' is only an enclosure of a copy of the original document which I have identified.

'The real document in the matter is to be found in 'America & West Indies No. 121, Military 1763 to 1765' and is an enclosure to a letter of Maj General Thos. Gage's dated, New York, April 14, 1764.'

This tracing has been photographed and copies presented to various historical societies. It contains the totems or tribal marks of each of the Indian signers set opposite their respective names. SAYENQUERAGHTA heads the list and opposite his name is the mark of a tortoise or turtle, which is conclusive evidence that he was of that clan.

In regard to the interpretation and meaning of the name, Rev. Asher Wright in speaking of Young King who bore the same Indian name, says* that 'he held the important office of internunciis between the grand council of the Six Nations and the Seneca Nation. He bore the smoking brand from the great council fire to kindle that of the Senecas. His official name was GUYAH-GWAAH DOH, which I understand to mean the smoke has passed by, from *gwaah*, smoke and *oahdoh*, it is passed or has passed by, but the idea intended to be conveyed was smoke-bearer.'

Another interpretation of the name is that 'it is from *o-yah gwaah* smoke, and *oh-wah-doh*, it is extinguished, or it has disappeared; in other words, it has gone out of sight.' Buffalo and the Senecas, I 327.

The late Seneca Chief, N. T. Strong, a highly educated Indian, and a corresponding member of the Buffalo Historical Society, said 'Smoke's name was GA YAH-GUA DOH, meaning the smoke has disappeared or the smoke is lost.' Pub. of Buff Hist. Soc. I. 40.

The interpretation thus given, conveys the idea of a glimpse of a flying runner bearing a smoking brand, hurrying and soon lost in the obscurity of the wilderness—one moment the banner of smoke is seen and then lost. It is an exclamation put into the mouth of the beholder. The word is idiomatic but wonderfully picturesque, and is very applicable to an official position of smoke bearer or fire kindler.

Horatio Hale in his "Iroquois Book of Rites," page 39, says that the interpretation or meaning of the Mohawk Chief, "Smoke Johnson's" Indian name is "disappearing mist." He says "it signifies properly, I was told, the haze which rises from the ground in an autumn morning, and vanishes as the day advances." He

farther says, page 40, "SAKAYENGWARAHTON is not an elected chief, nor does he bear one of the hereditary titles of the Great Council, in which he holds so distinguished a station. Indeed his office is one unknown to the ancient constitution of the KANONSIONNI. It is the creation of the British Government, to which he owes with the willing consent of his own people, his rank and position in the council. The Provincial administration saw the need of a native official who should be, like the Speaker of the English House of Commons, the mouth piece of the Council, and the intermediary between it and the representative of the Crown."

His attention having been called to the matter, since the publication of his book, Mr. Hale has made further investigation and writes that Smoke Johnson informs him that he has borne the name from his childhood, and that it had nothing to do with his office as speaker of the Council. He has also made careful inquiries about the name SAKAYENGWARAHTON, which has been borne, in various dialectic forms, by several chiefs, and was assured by those of whom he inquired, including the venerable Chief John S. Johnson, who bears the name that it is not a title of office, but is merely a favorite name, which happens to have been borne by two or three chiefs of the second rank, (great warriors) who attained high distinction and influence. It means, says Mr. Hale, disappearing mist, or as some render it, vanishing smoke. Mr. Hale also says that Smoke Johnson is of the Tortoise clan.

Another prominent investigator, in relation to Smoke Johnson's Indian name, says, that the roots of the old chief's name in Mohawk are *Oyenkwara*, smoke, and *Onton* disappearing or passing away.

Although from the foregoing it would appear that the name was not an official title, yet the interpretation is strikingly applicable to the office of "smoke bearer," representing as it does the vanishing, disappearing or passing away of the smoke from the burning brand, which such official carried to light the council fire.

"Each Clan," says Minnie Myrtle, "had its peculiar name, so that when a person's name was mentioned it was immediately known to what clan he belonged." The Iroquois, p. 142.

Rev. Asher Wright (Buffalo and the Senecas. I. 327) says, "all names are clan

property, so to speak." Dr. Morgan (League of the Iroquois, p. 89) says.—"In each 'nation' the proper names were so strongly marked by a tribal peculiarity that the tribe [clan] of the individual could usually be determined from the name alone. Making as they did a part of their language, they were all significant."

It is very evident that each clan had a stock of names for its warriors, distinctive and peculiar to the clan, and from this treasury of appellations the names were usually bestowed. It is also apparent that SAYENQUERAGHTA was a name belonging to the Turtle clan, and that not only of one of the tribes or "nations," but to such clan in each of the tribes that composed the original League, modified of course in the pronunciation by the dialectical variations that existed. As each clan was a brotherhood through the whole League, so a Mohawk Turtle would be a brother to a Turtle in the Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga and Seneca tribes or "nations." Thus there would necessarily be a GA-YAH GWAAH-DOH among the Senecas, and a SAKAYEN-GWARAHTON among the Mohawks, with contemporaries of the same name in each branch of the tribe throughout the League.

SAYENQUERAGHTA has been styled in many of the papers and documents yet extant, the head or chief Sachem of the Senecas and has also been called the King of the Senecas. Some have thought that he could not have been a Sachem, because the name is not in the list of Sachemships in Dr. Morgan's "League of the Iroquois," nor in the list of hereditary councillors in Mr. Hale's "Iroquois Book of Rites."

An Indian who had won distinction under the name that had been bestowed upon him in his youth would naturally be averse to abandoning his early name. Smoke Johnson is a striking example of this, as he is rarely known or called by his official name or title, WAKANEGTOLA, the Tall Pine Tree. It is true the Indians were not unmindful of official titles and a Sachem would be recognized and called by his official name in council. The name belonged to the council, but not necessarily out of it. Hence an Indian would be called by his familiar name and not that of the Sachemship. There appears to be abundant evidence to warrant the conclusion that SAYENQUERAGHTA was the name borne by him for many years as a "war captain," and that the same name had previously been borne

by other famous warriors. He appears to have succeeded TAGECHSADON as chief sachem about 1764, and who is often mentioned as the chief man of all the Senecas. Having borne a distinguished name for thirty years or more, it is not reasonable to suppose that the whole tribe would abandon that and address him by his new official title. They would do so in council of course, but out of council he would be called by his familiar name.

Sir. William Johnson, in a letter to Arthur Lee, May 28., 1771, (Doc. Hist. N. Y. IV. 430) said, "there is in every nation a sachem or chief who appears to have some authority over the rest, and it is greatest among the most distant nations." And again,—"The chief sachem, by some called the King, is so, either by inheritance, or by a kind of tacit consent."

The title of King was first applied by the white people to those chiefs or sachems who were prominent in authority, and in time the title became accepted and used by the Indians themselves. The title is interchangeable with that of "head chief" and "chief sachem," and it cannot be found in the history of any tribe or clan, that the appellation of King was applied to any individual who was not a sachem, or the head of the tribe, or of the detached clan. The title of King was constantly used among the dependent tribes of Pennsylvania and Ohio in all cases as the head of the particular clan and clans of the Delawares, Shawanees, Mohicans and others, for the time being, and ex-officio of the head of the council. To say that SAYENQUERAGHTA was not King of the Senecas is to say that DEKANISERA was not King of the Onondagas, and ex-officio King of all the Iroquois. SAYENQUERAGHTA is as often called King of the Senecas, as Hendrick was universally known as King Hendrick of the Mohawks.

Bishop de Schweinitz in his "Life and Times of Zeisberger," page 132, speaks of Hendrick, the illustrious King of the Mohawks," and in a foot note on same page, ' SOIENGARAHTA, or King Hendrick, the principal sachem of the Mohawks.'

It must not, however, be assumed that the title of King, or any official position that might have been held, carried with it the power of the supreme authority. Bishop de Schweinitz (Life of Zeisberger, p. 25) says, "The Indian was absolutely free, acknowledged no master, and yielded obedience to law only so far as he chose. His chiefs did not rule in the ordinary sense—they had no power which

they could enforce. They could claim no tribute, however common it was to bring them gifts. Their authority was, based upon personal influence and upon the skill with which they guided their counsellors.

The title of head chief or King was purely conventional among the Iroquois. It grew out of the necessity of leadership which inheres in savage as well as civilized society. A subordinate chief who happened to be endowed with the attributes that most strongly appealed to popular favor, would be the most influential, and therefore the head chief of his band.

The office of sachem was hereditary in the clan to which it had originally been assigned. Horatio Hale says that the word Sachem is not of Iroquois but of Delaware origin and that the title in the Mohawk dialect is ROYANER, meaning nobleman or lord. The council of sachems perhaps somewhat resembles the House of Lords in Great Britain, and like that country where the premiers have arisen from the "Commons," so it has been among the Iroquois where certain chiefs have obtained greater influence and power than the sachems. The great Indian chieftains by their powers of sagacity and wisdom, oratory and diplomacy. GARACONTIE, GARANGULAY, CANNASSATEGO, BRANT, RED JACKET and others can be well compared with the English Premiers Walpole, Pitt, Fox, Canning, Peel, D'Israeli and Gladstone, who, without being noble, have wielded more influence than any of the peers.

While the Indian had reverence and respect for the incumbent of a high official position, yet a dull, groveling man, however great his inherent rank, could have little influence or power; while on the other hand, an official obtained his real power and influence, not by virtue of his position, but through his own personal merit and by his judicious and wise counsels and acts.

It will be recollected that in "Annals of Tryon county," it is said that "he was usually called GRAHTA, the Seneca King." The following from well-known and prominent Seneca chiefs, is an additional, positive evidence that SAYENQUERAGHTA was of the great Turtle clan, and is an acknowledgment from high Indian authority as to his being a *great king*, and also gives some information as to the time of his death:

In 1790, two Senecas were murdered by white men on Pine Creek in Pennsylvania. This, highly exasperated the Senecas, who made an immediate demand up

on the Governor of Pennsylvania for redress. This was in the form of a message, signed by LITTLE BEARD RED JACKET, GISSEHAKIE, CAUNHESONGO, chiefs and warriors of the Seneca "nation," dated at Genesee River Flats, August 1790. After saying they are glad that a reward of eight hundred dollars has been offered for the murderers, they add:—

"Brothers—The two men you have killed were very great men and were of the Great Turtle Tribe, one of them was a chief, and the other was to be put in the great king GAROUGHTA'S place, who is dead also."

"Brothers, you must not think hard of us if we speak rash, as it comes from a wounded heart, as you have struck the hatchet in our head, and we can't be reconciled until you come and pull it out. We are sorry to tell you, that you have killed eleven of us since peace," &c., &c. Pa. Col. Rec. XVI, 396 and Phelps and Gorham Purchase, 289.

Colonel William L Stone in his "Life and Times of Red Jack-t," gives an account of the proceedings at the "Morris Treaty" or Treaty at Big Tree in 1797, the facts of which he says he obtained from the manuscripts of Thomas Morris and from conversations with him. After the main question of the treaty had been decided, and all the principal obstacles removed, a formidable difficulty presented itself by the arrival at the council of Young King, a descendant of Old Smoke, a notable chief of the Senecas many years before. Old Smoke was the most powerful, as he was deemed the wisest sachem of his time. He was the principal sachem, or civil chief of the nation, and his word was law. When he thought proper to convene a council it was only for the purpose of announcing his intentions, and none said nay to his behests. His infallibility was never questioned, and although he had been dead many years, his memory was yet held in great reverence. Young King, though literally a young man and of talents far inferior to Old Smoke, was nevertheless, by inheritance the chief sachem of the Seneca nation; and the usual deference secured to him by virtue of his office, was greatly augmented by reverence for his descent. As chief sachem, it was necessary to the validity of the treaty that it should receive his assent and signature. He was for a time, utterly opposed to the sale of their lands; and both the Cornplanter and Farmer's Brother assured Mr. Morris, that without his approbation, the work

was all at an end. Still, by dint of great persuasion, he was ultimately induced to sign the treaty." *Life of Red Jacket*, p. 247.

This glowing tribute to SAYENQUERAGHTA, who is here called Old Smoke, and who received this cognomen not only from the fact that smoke was in his name but also because he held the prominent official position as the "smoke-bearer," the sole and only custodian of the council-fire among the Senecas, shows the reverence and veneration with which he had been held by the Senecas, and the great influence and prominence he had attained, was made from information derived from the very best authority, for Thomas Morris was the negotiator of the treaty.

The customs and usages of the Senecas, however, have not as yet been fully understood. Their history seems to make them, to a certain extent, different from the other tribes or 'nations' of the League. It is evident that these tribes or 'nations' differed internally, to some extent, from one another, quite probably as much as the different States of our Union now differ. They had, we know, different clans and probably in some respects different political organizations.

Young King or as he is sometimes called Young Smoke, held the same Indian name that Old Smoke had, and he was his immediate successor. It will be recollected that the lad Benjamin Gilbert had been adopted into Old Smoke's family in such a manner as to be "considered the king's successor" and "as a badge of his dignity, wore a silver medel pendant from his neck." These facts give a strong assurance that Old Smoke held an official position that was hereditary and belonged to the immediate family or portion of the clan to which SAYENQUERAGHTA belonged which we know was the great Turtle family or clan.

By some it has been stated that Young King was a son of Old Smoke. This could not be, as a son belonged to the mother's clan, and consequently could neither succeed his father in office, nor even bear his name. This point, however, is settled by Mr. Schoolcraft in his "Notes on the Iroquois," 1846, page 150, where, on the authority of Seneca TETOY-OAH, he says that HI-A-DE O NI was the father of Young King. Others say that he was the grandson, and again others say that he was the nephew, the latter assumption being probably correct.

The occurrence that took place at the

treaty of Big Tree, would seem to indicate that he possessed almost supreme power and that as a consequence not only of his official position, but also from the very great esteem and regard yet existing for his predecessor. This, however, may not have been the only reason for the interruption of the proceedings, for we must bear in mind that unanimity was an essential feature and condition of Iroquois legislation. If a prominent chief or sachem, entitled to be heard in council, opposed the majority, no result could be attained until he was won over. This would not necessarily indicate that his position was very high, save that perhaps in the case of Young King, in the present instance, his office gave him the right or power to extinguish the council fire and thus put an end to the business under discussion.

In the "Iroquois Book of Rites," page 25, Mr. Hale says:—"Each nation has always had a head chief, to whom belonged the hereditary right and duty of lighting the council fire and taking the first place in public meetings." This statement seems to fit the case of SAYENQUERAGHTA—Old Smoke and Young King—precisely, and describe the official position held by each of them in turn, each being commonly called and designated as the "smoke bearer," who alone could carry the smoking brand to light the council fire.

At an interview held by the Hon. O. H. Marshall with the venerable chief Seneca White at his house on the Cattaraugus Reservation, in 1864, he informed Mr. Marshall that Old Smoke was the most influential man among the Senecas in the Revolutionary war, and that he opposed the Indians taking any part in the war. According to the Senecas he was a large, portly man of commanding presence. That he was a man of great prominence at Kanadesaga as early as 1765, is evidenced from his position in the councils then held. His closing speech in the council at that time, in defence of Rev. Samuel Kirkland, whose life was in imminent danger in consequence of the death of his host, was full of convincing argument and was a master-piece of eloquence that bore down all opposition and elicited a general shout of applause "which made the council house ring." †

While the official position held by Old Smoke gave him great prominence, yet his greater popularity and influence resulted from his individual personal merit. He was a valiant warrior—his bravery and sagacity in war won for him the trust

and confidence of his people. He was a wise and judicious counsellor, and this secured for him their respect and esteem. Red Jacket, at the Pickering treaty at Canandaigua in the fall of 1794, testified of him that he was "a man of great understanding." † This is evidenced by his astute and subtle reasoning in the lengthy speech he made to Sir William Johnson in 1774. || in which the great powers of his mind were brought into active play and were very forcibly exhibited. His superior talents together with his good and sterling qualities gained for him the regard and veneration of the Indians and secured for him a greater prominence and a more commanding influence, than that possessed by the schemes, or obtained by any of the chiefs of his time. He was indeed one of the most distinguished men of the Iroquois, the most popular and prominent of the Senecas, always a firm friend where he pledged fidelity, possessing a warm and generous heart, had the respect of enemies and the love of friends, was brave, sagacious, wise and with a tender heart as sympathetic as a woman.

Old Smoke died at his last place of residence, which was near the creek that bears his name, some five or six miles south of Buffalo. The date of his death is unknown. Red Jacket said he was alive at the time of the treaty of Fort Stanwix in the autumn of 1784. * His name, however, does not appear in any of the proceedings as published in Hough's Indian Treaties, and it is probable that he was not present at that time.

In the autumn of 1788, Rev. Samuel Kirkland was sent by Governor George Clinton, on a mission to the Indians in western New York at "KANADASEGEA," on the Genesee river and especially the settlement near the Ningara river. His manuscript journal, in the State Library, gives an account of his journeys and of the private conferences he held with prominent chiefs, as well as the proceedings of the councils he held with the Indians. RED JACKET, BIG TREE, FARMER'S BROTHER and other Indian chiefs are named, but the only reference to Old Smoke in an in-

terview he had with the "Seneca warrior called the Infant, son of the old chief SUGWAYEENGWALAGHTON." The prominence that SAYENQUERAGHTA or Old Smoke had formerly possessed, his known friendship for the government, the fact that Mr. Kirkland had once been his adopted son and the fatherly care and protection that Mr. Kirkland had received from him during his residence of more than a year at KANADESAGA, would naturally seem to require some mention of his name if he had been alive, and it might be inferred that he was then dead. Still the infirmities of old age had doubtless for some time prevented Old Smoke from participating in the affairs of his people and his residence being at a distance from the route that Kirkland was obliged to take in order to accomplish the object of his important mission as speedily as possible might account for such omission. In the extract of the letter, heretofore quoted, we have positive evidence that he was dead when that letter was written, in August 1790.

Smoke's creek, near which he lived and died, and which bears his name, is the only monument to his memory, and as the interpretation and meaning of his Indian name is "the smoke has disappeared," the name is indeed significant.

"But their name is on our waters
And we may not wash it out."

¶ In addition to the obligations that the writer is under to the late Hon. O. H. Marshall, Buffalo, N. Y., he would express his heartfelt thanks to Horatio Hale, Esq., Clinton, Ontario, Canada, also to William C. Bryant, Esq., Buffalo, N. Y., for much valuable information and very many useful suggestions; and also to Gen. John S. Clark, Auburn, N. Y., for valuable aid and assistance; his kind and assiduous attention and the large amount of information freely furnished, calls for especial expressions of gratitude.

† Lothrop's Life of Kirkland, Chapter 3. Sparks' American Biography, Vol. XXX.

† Life of Red Jacket, p. 224.

|| N. Y. Col. Doc. VIII, 424 9.

* Life of Red Jacket, p. 224.



KANADESAGA, THE OLD CASTLE

Nearly two miles in a north-westerly direction from the foot of Seneca lake, at the intersection of the Old Pre-emption and the Old Castle roads, was the location of the CAPITAL OF THE SENECAS, called KANADESAGA, but in later days more commonly known as the OLD CASTLE.

The name in the Seneca dialect is GA NUN-DA-SA-GA, meaning 'new settlement village.' League of the Iroquois, 394.

It is slightly different in the Mohawk dialect which differs but little from the Oneida. KANADESAGA is not, probably, the pure Mohawk form of the word, but as near as the early settlers could pronounce it.

Sir William Johnson, in 1763, says KANADESERO, which means the *grand village*; not that it was different from the others, but because the Turtle, the most noble of all the clans, was the dominant or ruling power of the village, and it was the residence of SAYENQUERAGHTA, the grand representative of the 'nation,' to whom was committed the charge of lighting the council-fire.

It is evident there was no settlement of any note at this place in 1750, when Cammerhoff and Zeisberger journeyed through the country. At that time the settlements of the Senecas were in scattered fragments along Burrell creek, some 5 miles south-west of Geneva.

The settlement at KANADESAGA was probably made in 1758, when Sir William Johnson erected a stockade fortification and block-houses at that place for the Senecas, to protect them from the French with whom the English were then at war.

The stockade enclosure was about 125 feet broad, from east to west, and 200 feet long, from north to south at its eastern side, the west side being longer, as the south row of palisades, instead of being at right angles, were set in a south-western direction, so that the southwest corner rested in KANADESAGA or CASTLE brook. The block-houses were at the northwest and southeast corners. The palisades were of oak and the work was done according to the following memorandum:

"The stockades to be 15 feet long, 3 of which to be sunk in the ground, well pounded and rammed, and the two touching sides square, so as to lay close. Loop holes to be made 4 feet distant. Two block-houses 20 feet square, below, and above to project 1½ feet over the beams, well roofed and shingled and a good sentry box on the top, of each; a good gate of 3 inch oak plank and iron hinges, and a small gate of oak plank of same thickness." Doc. Hist. N. Y. II., 717, 720 See also N. Y. Col. Doc. VII, 91, etc.

A few paces to the north of the site of the old palisade enclosure is an artificial burial mound which in 1847, when visited by Lewis H. Morgan, was about one hundred paces in circuit and about six feet high; the trenches of the palisade enclosure were at that time plainly to be seen.

The centre of the mound is about 200 feet directly south of North street or the Old Castle road, 190 feet directly west of the Old Pre-emption road and 265 feet south-west from the corner of the south and west lines of the two roads.

The north line of the palisade enclosure is 135 feet south of the centre of the burial mound, or about 235 feet south from the south line of the Old Castle road at a point distant about 200 feet west from the west line of the Old Pre-emption road; the north-east corner was 60 feet west from the west line of the Old Pre-emption road at a point 170 feet south of the Old Castle road, and about 150 feet further south the east line of the palisades were 50 feet west of the road.

These distances are from measurement made in the autumn of 1883, but as the lines of the roads were estimated from the situation of the fences they are not absolutely correct.

For a sketch and description of the palisade enclosure and burial mound see Squiers' Antiquities of New York, p. 83, see also Morgan's League of the Iroquois, p. 425

At the time of the destruction of the place by the army of General Sullivan, on the 8th of September, 1779, the village consisted of about fifty houses, with thirty more in the immediate vicinity. The dwellings in the town, some of which were framed buildings, were irregularly located around a large green plot on which the stockade fortification had stood the remains of which were plainly visible to the army. An extensive apple orchard was in the town and many apple trees scattered over the fields in the neighborhood. A large peach orchard was about half a mile north of the village, and wild plum, mulberry, hickory nut, walnut and butternut trees were in great abundance. Large corn fields were to the north and north-east, and a considerable quantity of corn, also many skins and Indian trinkets were found in the cabins, by the soldiers, and a number of horses and cows were captured. The army destroyed the entire village with all the growing crops of corn and vegetables, girdled the fruit trees, burned the stacks of hay and entirely devastated the place. On the morning of the 9th of September, when ready to break camp; 'the soldiers destroyed all

the corn, beans, peas, squashes, potatoes, onions, turnips, cabbage, cucumbers, watermelons, carrots and parsnips, the men horses and cattle could not eat." Journal of Moses Fellows. *North west*

About a half mile ~~east~~ from the village, on the Loomis farm, is a large tree, known as the GREAT COUNCIL TREE OF THE SENECA. It is in fact a double tree, the two branches separating a short distance above the ground. Its measurement, August 21, 1879, was as follows: Trunk, just above the ground, 25 feet in circumference; two feet above this or about three feet from the ground, 21 feet 3 inches; trunk of west branch, 18 feet, 6 inches; east branch, 15 feet, 2 inches; the last measurement being five feet from the ground. Spread of the whole tree 120 feet.

This noble elm was in the midst of the corn fields of KANADESAGA. A little to the north of it was a large peach orchard that was destroyed by Sullivan's army, but in a few years it was again in a flourishing condition and in 1797 one hundred bushels of peaches were sold from it to a neighboring distillery. The same year a farmer on one of the old castle farms sold cider to the amount of one thousand two hundred dollars, which was made from apples grown in the old Indian orchard, the trees of which had been girdled by Sullivan's army, but had sprouted from the roots and were again in full bearing. (Doc. Hist. N. Y., 1143-1143.)

Under the eastern edge of this old elm tree is a large stone deeply imbedded in the ground; it is about four feet long and

twenty inches wide and has a hollow scooped out towards one end; it was used by the Indians for pounding corn in, and is in the same place where it was used and left by them.

An Indian orator once said: "We shall not long occupy much room in living; we shall occupy still less when we are are gone; a single tree of the thousands which sheltered our fore-fathers, one old elm under which the tribes used to meet, will cover us all; but we would have our bodies entwined in death among its roots on the very soil where it grew. Perhaps it will last the longer from being fertilized with their decay."

The name GA NUN-DA-SA GA, save Dr. Morgan, was bestowed by the Indians not only upon the village itself, but "upon the lake, the creek, and also upon the outlet. At a subsequent day it was transferred to Geneva. "League of the Iroquois. p. 424.

The precise point in Geneva where at first, the name KANADESAGA became fixed was on the lake shore, "under the hill," at and south of the lower end of present Seneca street. At the same time the site of the former village was almost universally called the Old Castle. The distinctive difference was well known and fully recognized by the early settlers and is evidenced by many documents yet in existence. The traverse of Seneca lake, made in August 1789, by John L. Hardenbergh, one of the surveyors of the "Military Tract," places KANADESAGA at the point indicated as can be seen from his original field notes in possession of the Cayuga Historical Society, Auburn, N. Y.

N. B. In his investigations, the writer has not overlooked the fact that that indefatigable gleaner of border warfare reminiscences, the late Jeptha R. Simms, Fort Plain, N. Y., says that KAYINGWAURTO, a Seneca Chief, commanded the Indians at Wyoming. He bases his opinion from the contents of two papers that it is alleged were found on the person of an Indian killed in Sullivan's expedition, 1779. The papers are as follows: (Frontiersmen of N. Y. II. 160, 274.)

"This may certify that Kayingwauro, the Senaka Chief, has been on an expedition to Fort Stanwix and has taken two scalps, one from an officer and a corporal that were a gunning near the fort, for which I promise to pay at sight, ten dollars for each scalp. Given under my hand at Buck Is'and.

John Butler, Col and Supt., of the Six Nations and the Allies of his Majestv."

WESTMORELAND, 5th July 1778.
"This doth hereby certify that Lieut. Elizah Scovell has surrendered his garrison with all his people to government, and to remain as neutral during the present contest with Great Britaln and America; in consideration of which, Col. John Butler, Superintendent of the Six Nations of Indians, their allies, etc., with Kayingwauro, the chief of the Senaka nation and the other chief warriors of the Six Nations, do promise, that they shall live in quiet possession of their places with their families, and shall be duly protected from insult as far as lies in their power, and provided that they should be taken it is our desire that they may forthwith be released.

[L S]
Device of
{ Turtle.

JOHN BUTLER.
KAYINGWAURTO.

These papers, it is stated, were in the possession of Capt. Machin, of Sullivan's army. After the war the first was sent

to congress as a proof of the fact that the British government had authorized the payment of money for scalps. The second paper was received by Mr. Simms with some other of Capt. Machin's papers and about 1859 he sent the same to the Historical Society at Philadelphia, but never knew whether it had been received or not.

The first paper evidently refers to the case of Capt. Gregg and his subordinates who were scalped near Fort Stanwix, in 1778. The name KAYINGWAURTO, although similar to GIENGUAHTOH could not possibly have reference to Old King. Col. Butler was a man of education, familiar with the Mohawk dialect and with the records of the proceedings with the Indians. He perfectly well knew that the name of the "principal Seneca Chief" was SAYENQUERAGHTA, and would thus have written it, had it referred to Old King, as some have asserted. The papers undoubtedly belonged to the dead Indian upon whose person they were found, and SAYENQUERAGHTA or Old King was alive for some years after. At the time these papers were written, Col. Guy Johnson was Superintendent of Indian affairs for the British Government, and as Col. John Butler had never held the position it is preposterous to suppose that he would make such an assumption in writing, and besides it cannot for a moment be supposed that he would write such a word as "Senake" as found in both papers.

"Ye say that all have passed away.
The noble race and brava;
That their light canoes have vanished
From off the crested wave;
That 'mid the forests where they roamed
There rings no hunter's shout;
But their name is on your waters—
Ye may not wash it out.

Ye say their cone-like cabins
That clustered o'er the vale
Have disappeared, like withered leaves,
Before the autumn gale;
But their mam'ry liveth on your hills,
Their baptism on your shore;
Your ever-living waters speak
Their dialect of yore."

MRS. S. GOURNEY.

GENEVA, N. Y., March 1st, 1885.



